Alois Bárta

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SYNTAX OF THE SENTENCES IN ISAIAH 40-66

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE DIVINITY SCHOOL, IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS)

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The summaries in the following pages represent in part the results of a systematic study of the syntax of sentences in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66. My object was to investigate the different kinds of sentences and classify the results. This was done without reference to the literary and critical problems connected with the book.

The purpose of the tables is twofold: first, to present some of the more interesting stylistic and syntactical characteristics of these chapters; second, to show their bearing on the question of the unity of the book. Syntax may not be the strongest argument in a discussion of literary authorship; it has nevertheless at least as much weight, if not more than enumeration of words and phrases. For it has been correctly observed that syntax indicates more clearly a writer's method of thinking than does his choice of words and phrases.

The division of the book adopted is due chiefly to recent discussions of the problems connected therewith. Stade,[1] Cornill[2] *et al.* doubt that chaps. 63–66 come in their present form from the author of chaps. 40–62; Duhm,[3] Marti[4] *et al.* assign chaps. 56–66 to a different writer. This suggested the division into chaps. 40–55, 56–62, 63–66. The first section was subdivided into chaps. 40–48, 49–55, not only because 40–48 form a uniform and closely unified series of prophetic discourses, but also for the sake of convenience in comparisons. Two classes of passages, which required special notice, have been separated from the rest of the book: first, the Ebed Yahweh passages (42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13—53:12); then two passages on the foolishness of idolatry, which are treated as glosses by Duhm (44:9–20; 46:6–8). It is impossible in this connection to take up all the other alleged glosses of minor importance. The different sections

[1] *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II, p. 70, note.

[2] *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*[3], p. 161.

[3] *Das Buch Jesaia*, p. xviii.

[4] *Das Buch Jesaia*, pp. 361 *sq.*

are indicated by the following letters: A = chaps. 40–48; B = 49–55; C = 56–62; D = 63–66; E = the Ebed Yahweh passages; I = the two passages on idol-worship.

A discussion of the syntactical features of doubtful and difficult passages is impossible in the brief space allowed, and inconvenient because it would seriously interfere with the unity of presentation. Notes on special passages have been reserved for future publication. As my purpose was to classify the material presented by our present Hebrew text, only those textual changes have been made which were demanded by syntax.

1. Table I. shows how the pronominal subject (both of nominal and verbal sentences) is strengthened either by repetition, *e. g.*, 43:25, or by an apposition (pronoun of the third person, *e. g.*, 41:4δ, or a noun, *e. g.*, 41:4γ).

I. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS AS SUBJECTS.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
Strengthened by							
(1) repetition	3	1	1	..	..	..	5
(2) the pronoun of the third person	4	4	..	..	..	..	8
(3) nouns	13	1	2	1	..	..	17

Remark 1.—Usually the pronoun is in the first person, and God the logical subject; the nominal appositions are as a rule divine names. This is due to the controversial style of the earliest chapters, where Yahweh is so often introduced as speaker and his uniqueness and power contrasted with the nothingness of heathen idols.

Remark 2.—Some of the cases under (2) in the table are doubtful. In some cases the pronoun of the third person might be perhaps treated as a copula (*e. g.*, 43:25*a*; 46:4*a*; 51:12*a*, 19*a*, etc.). This position is strenuously defended by König.[5] On the other hand, Kautzsch denies even that הִוא in 51:19*a* is a copula and translates it "illa."[6] In some cases, *e. g.*, 43:10, 13, etc., the pronoun is explained as predicate by Davidson;[7] this is most probably the case in 48:12.[7] The material in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, is hardly sufficient to decide the question, but it seems to me that

[5] *Syntax*, § 338*h*. [6] Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 122*q*. [7] *Syntax*, § 106, rem. 2.

most of the cases can be explained as pronominal appositions. The pronoun of the third person as a copula is very rare in these chapters.

II. ORDER OF WORDS IN THE NOMINAL SENTENCES (SIMPLE PROPOSITION).

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Regular: Subject-predicate	29	9	16	10	8	1	73
2. Inverted (pred.-subj.), the predicate being							
(*a*) a noun	4	4	..	4	2	..	14
(*b*) a participle	3	2	..	..	..	..	5
(*c*) an adjective	..	3	1	..	1	..	4
(*d*) a preposition	4	1	1	..	..	..	6
	11	10	2	4	3	..	29

2. In the verbal sentences only a few peculiarities of the predicate have been noticed:

(*a*) Verbal apposition in 47:1*b*,[8] 5*b*;[8] 52:1*b*.

(*b*) Infinitive absolute for a finite verb, 42:20*a* (Kt. perfect), 20*b*,[9] 22*β*;[10] 59:4*b* (four times), 13 (six times).

(*c*) הָיָה and participle for a perfect, 59:2*a*, 15*a*, *β*.

Remark 1.—The text of 44:14*a*, where an infinitive construct is used independently, is undoubtedly corrupt. The infinitive cannot be connected with anything that precedes or follows. Either a finite verb is fallen out before it (Dillmann: עָלָה) or it is an error for כָּרַת (Duhm *et al.*). *Cf.* Dillmann, *ad loc.*

Remark 2.—The predicate is wanting, *e. g.*, 42:19*a*; 43:2*γ*, but easily supplied from the context; absence of the predicate is an evidence of a corruption in the text in 44:12*a*; 49:19*a*; 66:18*a*.

III. SOME USAGES OF THE VERBAL PREDICATE.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Infinitive absolute	2	..	10	..	1	..	13
2. הִנֵּה + partic. (= verb. fin.)	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
3. Verbal apposition	2	1	..	..	..	..	3

[8] Second fem. sing. continued by third plur. masc. (indefinite for passive).

[9] *Cf.* Marti, *ad loc.*; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 113*z*. Duhm's change of the text is not necessary.

[10] The text very doubtful. *Cf.* commentaries, *ad loc.* (Even R. V., "They are all of them snared in holes").

IV. ORDER OF WORDS IN SIMPLE VERBAL PROPOSITIONS.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Regular	156	52	77	67	27	39	418
2. Predicate, etc.:[11]							
on account of emphasis	38	5	30	8	..	3	84
because of chiasm	4	..	3	..	..	..	7
3. Subject, etc.:							
emphasis	45	17	29	25	11	3	130
chiasm	2	3	3	1	2	..	11
4. Object, etc.:							
emphasis	15	5	11	4	5	4	44
chiasm	13	3	20	2	..	1	39
5. Adverb, etc.:							
emphasis	2	4	2	1	1	..	10
chiasm	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
6. Preposition, etc.:							
emphasis	1	18	18	10	14	6	67
chiasm	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
7. Pred. nom., etc.:							
emphasis	...	..	1	..	..	..	1

3. In connection with the copulation of the sentences I have observed the following peculiarities in the tenses of the verb:

(*a*) In some cases ו simple and the perfect are used to continue a perfect, where we would expect as a rule ו consecutive and the imperfect, *e. g.*, 40:12*γ*, *δ*; 41:4*a*; 43:12 (twice), 14*b*; 48:15*b*; 55:10*ε*; 55:10*ζ*; 44:15*a*, *γ*.

(*b*) Sometimes ו simple and the imperfect occur instead of the consecutive ו with the imperfect. This seems to be due to the desire of an editor or copyist to transform a statement concerning the past into a prediction. The text ought to be changed undoubtedly to read ו consecutive,[12] 41:5*a*; 42:6*a*;[13] 43:9*a*, 28*a*; 48:3*β*; 49:5*b*; 51:2*δ*; 57:17*a*; 63:3*γ*, *δ*, *ε*, 5*a*, *β*, 6*a*, *β*, *γ*.

(*c*) There are a few cases where ו simple (separated from the verb) is used for ו consecutive with the imperfect,[14] *e. g.*, 40:18*β*, 24*b*; 44:23*b*(?); 45:13*β*; 49:13*δ*(?); 44:14*b*, 18*β*, 19*a*(?), 20*β*(?).

Remark 1.—Changes of the order of words due to chiasm are very common in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66.

Remark 2.—Contraction of sentences (about eighty cases, if we count only those in which two or more parts of the contracted sentences are different) is most common in the early chapters, and is due to their poetic form.

[11] Usually with slight modifications of the regular order.

[12] *Cf.* Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 107*b*, note; König, § 366*l*, and commentaries, *ad loc.*

[13] Parallel with a perfect.

[14] *Cf.* König, § 366.

Remark 3.—A positive statement is restated in negative terms, or *vice versa*, *e. g.*, 41:9δ; 42:16*b*, 24*b*, etc. Very often this form is used to make more emphatic statements concerning the uniqueness of Yahweh, *e. g.*, 43:11; 44:6*b*, 8*b*, etc.

Remark 4.—Questions (usually rhetorical) continue sometimes simple positive or negative propositions, or *vice versa* (syndetically), *e. g.*, 43:9, 13*b*; 44:7*a*, 8*b*; 45:9*b*; 48:6*a*, etc.

V. GROUPING OF SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
a. Chiasm	40	17	21	14	..	..	92
b.[15] (1)[16] Syndetic	133	71	112	86	17	27	446
Asyndetic	159	55	74	42	14	20	364
(2)[17] Syndetic	83	30	50	27	25	2	217
Asyndetic	31	18	15	6	6	1	77
(3)[18] Syndetic	18	11	15	16	5	3	68
Asyndetic	5	2	3	2	..	..	12
(4) Posit.-negat. or negat.-posit.	8	1	4	2	2	..	17
The same referring to Yahweh's uniqueness	10	..	...	..	..	..	10
c. אֲנִי	18	..	...	..	..	6	24
גַּם or וְגַם	6	..	2	3	..	..	11
אָז	4	..	1	..	..	..	5
עַל־כֵּן or לָכֵן	...	3	3	1	1	..	8
אוֹ	1	1	...	..	..	..	2
כִּי or כִּי־אִם	...	..	3	2	..	..	5

4. Both the imperative and the jussive are used quite frequently to make the style more vivid. The different sections are often introduced by a command to the prophet to preach, or to the audience (frequently imaginary) to listen. Persons, nations, lands, etc., are addressed directly, as if the prophet (or his God) spake to them; coming events are represented as due to immediate commands of Yahweh, etc.

Remark 1.—Sometimes (when absent persons or poetic personifications are addressed) (*a*) the imperative passes into a jussive—usually of the third person—41:1*a*(?),[19] 21 *sq.*; 45:11*b* (jussive of second person), 21*a*; (*b*) the jussive is followed by an imperative, 41:22.

[15] Syndesis and asyndesis. [16] Progressive. [17] Synonymous. [18] Contrast.

[19] Text doubtful; יחליפו כח most probably dittography from 40:31*a* (Duhm *et al.* following Lagarde). Dillmann's explanation, "strength is needed for controversy with Yahweh," is weak. Such an idea is never even suggested in the numerous controversial passages in 2 Isaiah. The phrase is out of place in the context.

Remark 2.—The rhetorical uses of the imperative and the jussive may be roughly divided into the following four classes:

(*a*) introducing a new strophe or section (usually verbs of speaking and hearing), *e. g.*, 40:1, 9; 41:1; 42:18; 44:1, 21, etc.;

(*b*) adding color or emphasis to a description, *e. g.*, 40:3, 9; 41:1, 21; 44:11; 43:9, 26, etc.;

(*c*) ironical, 47:12 *sq.*; 57:13;[20]

(*d*) making statements concerning the future more vivid and more emphatic, or representing them as due to direct commands of Yahweh, *e. g.*, 43:6, 8; 44:26, 28; 47:1 *sqq.*, 5; 48:20, etc.

Remark 3.—The cohortative is not very frequent; it occurs in 41:1δ, 22*b* (twice), 23 (3), 26 (2); 43:26*a*; 50:8*β*; 56:12*a* (twice); 59:10*a*, *β*. In the last passage it is used to express an obligation, "We must . . . . ."

VI. RHETORICAL USES OF THE IMPERATIVE AND JUSSIVE.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Introducing a strophe or section	18	8	1	1	..	1	29
2. Adding color (or emphasis) to description	12	5	1	..	..	1	19
3. Ironical	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
4. = Emphat. or vivid future.	8	7	2	2	..	..	19

VII. EXCLAMATORY PARTICLES AND NOUNS.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. הִנֵּה	9	5	6	11	1	..	32
הֵן	5	7	4	2	3	1	22
Total	14	12	10	13	4	1	54
2. הוֹי	2	1	..	..	..	..	3
3. מַה	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
4. קוֹל	2	1	..	3	..	..	6
5. אַשְׁרֵי	..	..	1	..	..	..	1

VIII. OATHS AND OPTATIVE SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Oaths	..	1[21]	2[22]	..	..	..	3
2. Optative sentences	..	..	1[23]	1[24]	..	..	2

[20] If the text is correct. [21] חַי אֲנִי (Yahweh). [22] Imperfect + אִם.
[23] Nominal sentence without special indication. [24] לוּא + perfect.

5. Few peculiarities have been found in interrogative sentences. The following points may be noticed here:

(*a*) 44:19ζ, η;[25] 63:15γ; 64:4δ[26] are probably questions without special indication of their interrogative character. They may have been indicated by the tone of the speaker's voice; in the absence of that criterion their character is doubtful and to be decided chiefly by their context.

(*b*) The members of a double question are synonymous in 66:8β, γ (הֲ+אִם), 49:24*a*–*b* (הֲ+וְאִם); 40:28*a*–β (הֲלֹא+אִם־לֹא); the second is the restatement of the first in negative terms in 50:2δ–ε (הֲ+וְאִם אֵין), and *vice versâ* in 66:9*a*–*b* (וְאִם+הֲ לֹא).

IX. SOME RHETORICAL USES OF THE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1.[27] הֲלֹא	12	..	1	1	..	1	15
2.[28] הֲ	4	1	1	1	..	..	7
Some with מִי, מָה	8	2	1	2	4	..	17
3.[29] לָמָּה	1	1	1	[1?]	..	..	3
4.[30] Form various	5	..	..	1	..	..	6
5.[31] " "	6	4	1	8	..	4	23

(*c*) The use of interrogative sentences is mostly rhetorical. Hence an answer is rarely given or expected and the questions pass easily into positive or negative affirmations.

(*a*) Interrogative sentences with הֲלֹא are used for emphatic positive statements, *e. g.*, 40:21; 42:24*a*; 43:19β, etc.

(β) Many questions occur instead of emphatic negative propositions; questions introduced by הֲ (all cases in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, *e. g.*, 44:8δ; 45:9γ; 49:15*a*, etc.), by מִי (= Nobody did . . . ., *e. g.*, 40:13 *sq.*, 18*a*, *b*, 25*a*, etc.), by מָה (= Nothing . . . ., 45:9γ), and by אֵי זֶה (= Nowhere . . . ., 50:1β).

[25] *Cf.* Dillmann, *ad loc.*

[26] The text is doubtful. The sentence ונושע might be translated "but we shall be saved;" but it would not suit the context as well as a question: "Thou (O God) art gracious to those who keep thy statutes (4*a*). But we have sinned against them; can we be saved?" (*Cf.* Revised Version.) The question expresses wonder and doubt. Recent exegetes emend the text, suggesting various parallels to וַנִּחָטֵא. וַנִּתֵּת of Ewald would be perhaps the most suitable reading; *cf.* LXX, ἐπλανήθημεν.

[27] = Emphatic positive statement. [28] = Emphatic negative statement. [29] = A rebuke.

[30] Interrogative sentence expressing a wish, prayer, or command, etc.

[31] Interrogative sentences with a shade of doubt or wonder.

(γ) Questions with לָמָּה have the meaning of a rebuke (40:27*a*; 55:2*a*; 58:3*a*; except 63:17*a*?).

(δ) Some questions express a prayer, wish, or command, *e. g.*, 40:21; 42:23; 43:9γ, 19*β*; 48:6*β*; 63:17*a* (negative).

(ε) Many of the questions have a shade of doubt or wonder, *e. g.*, 40:21; 40:28; 43:19*β*; 44:10*a*, etc.

Remark.—In the coördinated sentences, 50:2*a*, *β*; 58:3*a*, *β*; 66:9*a*, *b*, the second has an interrogative force, the first is temporal,[32] *e. g.*, 58:3*a*, "[When] we fast, why dost thou not see?"

6. The following minor points have been noticed in the negative sentences:

(*a*) אַל is used once with a noun in prohibition, 62:6*b* (אַל דמי לכם = "Let there be no peace to you" = "Do not keep quiet;" *cf.* vs. 7*a*: ואל תתנו דמי לו).

X. THE NEGATIVE PARTICLES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. לֹא + perfect	34	3	13	16	7	2	75
לֹא + imperfect	39	23	23	17	11	7	120
לֹא + noun	..	2	..	1	4	2	9
לֹא + preposition	6(5?)	2(+4)	..	..	..	..	12
2. בַּל + perfect	3	..	..	..	..	..	3
בַּל + imperfect	1	..	..	..	..	3	4
3. אַל + jussive	12	6	4	4	..	..	26
אַל + noun	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
4. אֵין + noun or participle	29	7	11	5	..	1	53
אֵין + preposition	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
5. אַפְסִי or אֶפֶס	5	1	..	..	..	..	6

(*b*) לֹא and אֵין sometimes form one concept with a noun, *e. g.*, 55:2*b* (לא לשׂבעה לא לחם—לְ and infinitive construct!); 65:2γ (לא טוב = "not good" = "bad"); 40:29*β* (אין אונים = "weak," governed by preposition לְ); 59:10*β* (אין עינים = "blind," governed by כְּ).

(*c*) לא ב is used for בְּלֹא ("without") in 45:13ε; *cf.* 55:1*b*; 48:1ε (four times); the meaning is doubtful in 48:10*a* (Kautzsch-Ryssel,[33] following the Vulgate, read ולא כ'כסם); likewise אין (47:1*β*), ואין (57:1*a*; 60:15*a*), באין (57:1*b*).

[32] Or with a concessive shade of meaning, 58:3*a*, *β*(?); 66:9*a*, *b*(?).

[33] *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*: Textkritische Erläuterungen, *ad loc.*

(*d*) אין and אפס may be strengthened by עוד and prepositional phrases:

(*α*) עוד, 45:5*a*, 6*γ*, 14*ε*, 18*b*, 22*b*; 46:10*β*; 47:8*β*, 10*b*;

(*β*) מבלעדי with pronominal suffixes, 43:11*β*; 44:6*δ*; 45:6*β*, 21*γ*.

(*γ*) זולת with pronominal suffixes, 45:5*β*, 21*δ*.

7. The use of asyndetic relative sentences[34] (without relative particles and pronouns) in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, is large and free.

Remark.—Some asyndetic sentences after nouns governed by כְּ of comparison seem to be in a transitory stage. It is impossible to decide in every case whether כְּ is a preposition or a conjunction. This seems to be the case in 53:7*γ*, *δ*; 61:10*ε*, *ζ*, 11*a* (not in 62:1*δ*; כלפיד is parallel with כנגה); 63:14*a*. It is noteworthy that in five cases (except 53:7*δ*; 61:11*β*) the noun is determined, while, as a rule, the antecedent of asyndetic relative sentences is undetermined.

XI. THE RELATIVE SENTENCES.

1. *Syndesis* (*a*) *and asyndesis* (*b*).

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
a. (1) אֲשֶׁר	10	15	11	14	2	1	53
(2) Article	..	1(?)	1(?)	..	..	..	2(?)
(3) זה	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
(4) מִי (indef.)	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
Total	12	18	12	14	2	1	59
b. (5) Asyndetic	31	21	16	11	4	..	83

2. *The antecedent.*

a. Syndetic:							
(1) A substant. with article	..	..	2	2	..	..	4
(2) Proper name	4	4	..	..	..	..	8
(3) A substantive partially determined	3	4	6	5	..	..	18
(4) An undeterm. substant.	1	..	3	4	..	..	8
b. The anteced't of the asynd. relative sentence:							
(1) An undetermined noun	13	7	10	4	1	1	36
(2) A noun partially determined	2	8	..	1	2	1	14
(3) A proper name	3	1	..	..	..	..	4
(4) A substant. with article	..	..	4	1	1	..	6
(5) A pronoun	..	..	1	..	1	..	2

[34] *Cf.* Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*[26], § 155*d*; Reckendorf: *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, § 171.

XI. THE RELATIVE SENTENCES (CONTINUED).

3. *The place of the independent relative sentence in the main sentence.*

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
a. The syndetic:							
(1) = the subject	1	3	..	..	..	..	4
(2) = a vocative	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
(3) An object (accus.)	2	2	..	1	2	1	8
(4) A genit. after a constr.	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
(5) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
b. The asyndetic relative sentence is:							
(1) A subject	3	..	..	..	..	..	3
(2) = a vocative	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
(3) A pred. nomin.	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
(4) An object-accusative	4	..	..	..	..	..	4
(5) A genit. after a constr.	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
(6) Gov'n'd by a preposit.	..	..	..	2	..	..	2

4. *The retrospective pronoun.*

a. In the syndet. rel. sentence:							
(1) As object—							
omitted	2	..	1	3	1	..	7
expressed	2	..	1	1	..	..	4
(2) Genitive expressed	3	1	2	1	..	..	7
(3) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:							
omitted	2	3	1	2	..	..	8
expressed	1	2	1	..	1	..	5
b. In asyndet. rel. sentences:							
(1) As object—							
expressed	6	..	2	..	..	..	8
omitted	4	4	3	..	..	..	11
(2) As genitive suffix expressed	3	1	2	..	..	..	6
(3) Gov'n'd by a preposit.:							
expressed	3	..	1	3	1	2	10
omitted	1	2	..	..	..	..	3

8. The circumstantial sentences present hardly any peculiarities. They may have various shades of meaning: causal, 41:24β; 53:5*a*, β, 12*b*(?); temporal (65:24δ), concessive (43:8*a*, *b*), etc.; but there is nothing unusual in their usage in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66.

9. The subject and object clauses are

(*a*) asyndetic, 42:21β; 48:8γ;

(*b*) introduced by כִּי, *e. g.*, 41:23β; 43:10δ; 45:23ε; 50:7δ, etc.;

(*c*) infinitive clauses, *e. g.*, 42:24; 47:11β, γ; 50:4β; 51:13ε, etc.

Remark.—Verbal apposition takes the place of an object clause after יסר, 47:1*b*, 5*b*; 52:1*b*,[35] after ראה, 53:11*a*.[36] The first case is remarkable; the governing verb is second person sing. fem., but the apposition is third person plur. masc. (indefinite for an impossible passive).

XII. SUBJECT AND OBJECT CLAUSES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Independent	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
2. With כִּי	15	2	6	..	..	..	23
3. Infinitive construct	7	..	5	..	..	1	13
4. Infin. construct with לְ	..	2	1	..	3	..	6

XIII. CAUSAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. כִּי	18	32	25	15	1	2	93
2. יַעַן	..	..	1	3	..	..	4
3. אֲשֶׁר[37] with preposition	1	..	..	..	1	..	2
Total	19	32	26	18	2	2	99
Infinitive with preposition	1	..	..	[1?]	..	..	1

Remark 1.—Simple parataxis for a causal sentence is found, *e. g.*, 48:21*β*.

Remark 2.—In 65:12*γ*, *δ*; 66:4*γ*, *δ* two coördinated sentences are introduced by the causal conjunction, which properly belongs to the second—the first in the place of a temporal sentence. Similar is the case of comparisons, where the conjunction precedes the protasis, the apodosis being a causal sentence, 55:9, 10 *sq.*; 61:11; 62:5*a*, *β*; 66:22 (*cf.* 44:3).

Remark 3.—In some passages the causal sentence does not give the cause of the statement immediately preceding, but rather of a section as a whole in a general way. This is true especially of כי כה אמר יהוה, when introducing a new section, *e. g.*, 45:18*a*; 52:3*a*, 4*a*; 57:15*a*; not in 56:4*a*; 66:12*a*, where כה אמר יהוה is put in to make the following statement more emphatic. *Cf.* also 54:9*a*, though the text is very doubtful.[38]—It is doubtful

[35] *Cf.* König, § 361.

[36] *Cf.* Kautzsch-Ryssel *in loc.* The verse is freely emended by recent exegetes; *cf.* Duhm, Marti, *ad loc.*

[37] מֵאֲשֶׁר, 43:4*b*; תַּחַת אֲ, 53:12*γ*.

[38] *Cf.* Dillmann and Duhm, *ad loc.*

whether כי כה אמר יי in 49:25 is in its proper place; it separates the answer in vs. 25 from the rhetorical question in vs. 24. Duhm transposes it to the beginning of vs. 24; Marti rather freely cuts out vs. 24 as a gloss.

11. Very few conditional sentences occur in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66.—הֵן occurs once (54:15*a*). To treat it as a particle of exclamation[39] is against the context: "Oppression and terror will not come near thee [vs. 24]; if anyone fights against thee it is not from me [= with my approval, 15*a*]; whoever strives with thee will fall." König's claim, that an apodosis would be wanting, fails, because אפס and its supplement may be an independent sentence; *cf.*, *e. g.*, 46:9; 47:8, 10. The indefinite relative מִי introduces a condition in 54:15*b*: If anyone . . . .[40]

12, 13. Concessive and restrictive sentences are rare in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, and do not present any peculiarities.

14. In comparisons various forms are used:

(*a*) Coördination (asyndetic) appears in 62:5*a*.

(*b*) The following conjunctions are used:

(*a*)	In protasis כַּאֲשֶׁר,	in apodosis	—	, 51:13*c*;[41] 66:20*b*;
(*β*)	" " כַּאֲשֶׁר,	" "	כֵּן	, 52:14 *sq.*; 55:10 *sq.*; 65:8;
(*γ*)	" " אֲשֶׁר,	" "	כֵּן	, 54:9*β*;
(*δ*)	" " —,	" "	כֵּן	, 55:9*a*; אָכֵן, 40:7*b*.

Remark 1.—An infinitive clause introduced by כְּ stands in the place of a comparative sentence in 64:1*a* and is continued asyndetically by a verbal sentence (imperfect).

Remark 2.—There are some cases of shortened comparisons (besides the simple כְּ with a noun):

(*a*) The inner accusative in 62:5*b*: "Thy God will rejoice over thee with the joy of the bridegroom over the bride."

(*β*) כְּ and participle, 63:2*b*: "Thy garment is like the garment of one treading in the wine press."

(*γ*) One of the things which are compared is the subject, the other a predicate (both participles), 66:3*a*, *e. g.*, "He that kills an ox (is like him) that slays a man;" *cf.* Revised Version, Dillmann, Duhm, Marti. The translation of Kautzsch-Ryssel creates

[39] König, *Syntax*, § 380*b*.

[40] The text of the verse is doubtful, and its meaning not clear. Cheyne emends it freely Duhm and Marti treat it as a gloss.

[41] "As if" . . . .; *cf.* Revised Version, margin, Kautzsch-Ryssel, Dillmann; "when," Revised Version, Duhm.

an unnecessary anacoluthon between 3*a* and 3*b*: "He that kills an ox (but at the same time) slays a man . . . ."

Remark 3.—A nominal sentence seems to be governed by כְּ in 53:3*b*. Taking מִסְתֵּר with Dillmann and most recent exegetes to be a noun we may translate: "(He was) like (one) from whom faces are hid." The Revised Version (margin) translates: "He hid as it were (his) face from us." The context favors strongly the first translation (contempt of the people for the suffering servant).

Remark 4.—In 59:18*a* the second כְּעַל is most probably a dittography (Dillmann, Kautzsch-Ryssel, Marti); it is a preposition and requires a noun. Duhm changes the verb יְשַׁלֵּם to a noun שְׁלֵם, but such usage of כעל does not occur anywhere else.

XIV. COMPARATIVE SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Asyndetic	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
2. Apodosis—כֵּן	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
3. כַּאֲשֶׁר	..	1	..	1	..	..	2
4. כֵּן—כַּאֲשֶׁר	..	1	..	1	1	..	3
5. כֵּן—אֲשֶׁר	..	1	..	..	..	..	1

15. The following conjunctions are used in the temporal sentences:

(*a*) כִּי (*α*) with a perfect—in the main sentence a gnomic perfect, 40:7*γ*;[42]

(*β*) with an imperfect (future)—in the apodosis imperfect (future), 43:2*a*;

(*γ*) with an imperfect (contin.)—in the main sentence a perfect (present?), 54:6*γ*;[42]

(*δ*) with an imperfect (iterative)—in the apodosis וְ consecutive with the perfect, 58:7*γ*.

(*b*) עַד with an imperfect (future), while in the main sentence we find

(*α*) an imperfect (future), 42:4*β*, *γ*;

(*β*) a jussive (negative), 62:7*b*.

[42] The temporal use of כִּי is doubtful in 40:7*γ*; 54:6*γ*. In 40:7*γ* it may be either temporal (G. A. Smith, *ad loc.*; Marti(?), *ad loc.*) or causal (Kautzsch-Ryssel, Duhm, Cheyne; *cf.* Dillmann, *ad loc.*).

(*c*) טֶרֶם (only 65:24*a*) or בְּטֶרֶם with an imperfect—and

(*a*) an imperfect in apodosis: iterative, 42:9*γ*; future, 65:24*a* (וְ separate introducing apodosis).

(*β*) a perfect (historical) in apodosis, 48:5*γ*; 66:7*a*, *β*. (In *β* introduced by וְ, in *a* asyndetic).

Remark 1.—An independent sentence instead of a temporal sentence is found in 48:13*b*.

Remark 2.—Infinitive clauses governed by בְּ, מִן, and מֵעֵת have a temporal meaning, 52:8*b*; 53:9*β*; 55:6*a*, *β*; 57:13*a*; 64:2*a*; 44:7*γ*; 48:16*γ*.

16. (1) Simple coördination[43] of sentences with a final shade of meaning is quite common in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66.

(*a*) Imperative after an imperative, 45:22*a*; 46:8*a*;[44] 47:2*δ*(?);[45] 55:2*γ*; 48:14*a*.

(*b*) Cohortative:

(*a*) after an imperative, 41:22*δ* (twice), 23*β*; 49:20*δ*; 51:23*δ*; 55:3*γ*;

(*β*) after a jussive, 41:23*δ*;[46] 66:5*ζ*;

(*γ*) after a perfect, 41:26*a*.[47]

(*c*) Jussive(?) (resp. imperfect with jussive force):

(*a*) after a jussive, 45:8*γ*;[48] 55:7*γ*(?);

(*β*) after an imperfect, 46:6*γ*;

(*γ*) after a perfect, 41:26*β*;[47]

(*δ*) after a nominal sentence, 41:28*b*.[49]

(2) Another "lighter" (?)[50] way of expressing purpose is the use of infinitive construct with לְ, quite frequent in Isa. 40–66.

(3) Sentences introduced by conjunctions, all regular in form; the imperfect tense is used:

(*a*) לְמַעַן, 41:20*a*, *β*; 43:10*b*, 26*b*; 44:9*δ*; 45:3*γ*, 6*a*; 66:11*a*,[51] *b*;[51]

(*b*) פֶּן (negative: that not, lest), 48:5*γ*, 7*γ*.

[43] A "lighter" way of expressing purpose. Davidson, §148*a*; *cf.* Gesenius-Kautzsch, §§108, 2*a*; 109, 2*a*; 165*a*; Davidson, §§64, 65.

[44] The second imperative is a ἅπαξ λ., its meaning uncertain. [45] Asyndeton.

[46] Continued by a jussive Kt. וְנִרְאֶה (Marti, *ad loc.*; Gesenius-Kautzsch, §109*d*; Oort's reading וְנִרְאֶה, from יראה, does not fit Yahweh as speaker; *cf.* vs. 21). Vol. imperfect (Dillmann) or rather imperfect cohortative; *cf.* Gesenius-Kautzsch, §75*l*).

[47] After a question; *cf.* Davidson, §65*d*; from our point of view, rather consequential.

[48] With an emendation: תִּפְתַּח אֶרֶץ וְתַצְמִיחַ וְיִפְרֵי יֶשַׁע וּצְדָקָה יַחַד; the transposition of תַּצְמִיחַ removes the syntactical difficulty of the present text.

[49] After a negative sentence; *cf.* Davidson, §65 (*ibid.*, classed by mistake in 65*d* interrogative).

[50] Davidson, §148*b*. [51] Continued by וְ and perfect consecutive.

XV. FINAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Syndetic imperative[52]	3	1	..	..	..	1	5
" cohortative	5	3	..	1	..	..	9
Jussive	3	1	..	..	..	1	5
Total	11	5	..	1	..	2	19
2. לְמַעַן	5	..	..	2	..	1	8
3. פֶּן־ (negative)	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
4. לְ and infin. construct	9	10	22	8	4	2	55

17. (1) Consequences of a certain action are stated sometimes in

(*a*) an asyndetic sentence, *e. g.*, 63:19δ; 64:1δ; or

(*b*) in a sentence connected with the preceding by a וְ, *e. g.*, 46:5*b*,[53] 7β; 53:2*b*.

(2) Special means of indicating a result are:

(*a*) infinitive clauses (α) with לְ; (β) with מִן (negative consequence).[54]

XVI. CONSEQUENTIAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
1. Asyndetic	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
2. Simple syndetic	1	..	..	..	1	1	3
3. לְ + infinitive	..	1	..	..	..	1	2
4. מִן + infinitive (neg.)	..	2	8	..	..	2	12

18. I. Parenthetical sentences are used to strengthen or to explain certain parts of the main sentence, as:

(1) (*a*) the subject—God in all cases—42:8β; 45:18β,[55] δ;[55] 51:15γ; 52:6γ; 54:5β, δ; 57:15β;

(*b*) the object, 48:6*a* (כָּלָּה, the object of חָזוֹת, being also the object of שָׁמַעְתָּ);

(*c*) the predicate,[56] 52:14β, γ;

[52] Simple syndesis with a final shade of meaning.

[53] Or final (?).

[54] Addendum (*b*) אֲשֶׁר with imperfect (after imperfect future).

[55] After participles.

[56] The parenthesis is introduced by כֵּן and takes the place of a causal sentence ("Many were astonished, because," etc.); משחת to be taken most probably with Duhm, as participle hoph. מָשְׁחָת.

Remark 1.—The parenthesis refers to the divine name (הוּא שְׁמִי, 42:8β; יהוה צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ, 51:15γ; 54:5β[57]), to Yahweh's uniqueness (45:18β) and wonderful actions (45:18δ).

Remark 2.—הִנֵּנִי in 52:6γ has been translated as direct discourse after יְדַבֵּר (Dillmann, who compares 40:9; 41:27; Kautzsch-Ryssel, Revised Version, margin). But (1) דבר alone before direct discourse is unusual; (2) the parallels of Dillmann do not prove anything (אמר in 40:9; independent in 41:27) < Revised Version, Duhm, as in (1) (a) [Cheyne, Marti transfer הִנֵּנִי (or rather הֵן־הִנֵּה) to the beginning of vs. 7, which they emend quite freely].

II. The parenthesis is used to mark the direct discourse.[58]

(1) (a) It may be the defective nominal sentence:

(α) נְאֻם יהוה, usually at the conclusion of the discourse, 41:14γ, etc.;

(β) once נאם אדני י׳ וגו׳ in the beginning of the verse, 56:8a.

(2) It may be a verbal sentence, either with the perfect or imperfect of אָמַר in predicate.

(a) The perfect is used

(α) once with an indefinite subject, 45:24a;

(β) very commonly with יהוה, or similar expressions as subject, 45:13ζ, etc.

(b) The imperfect is used only five times, 40:1b, 25; 41:21β[59] = 66:9a;[60] 41:21δ.[59]

Remark 1.—It is interesting to compare the various ways in which certain verses (or passages) are stamped in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, as divine oracles. We find the following:

(a) The introductory formulas:[61]

(α) כֹּה אָמַר יהוה וגו׳, 43:14a, 16a; 44:2a, 6a, 24a; 45:1a, 11a, 14a; 48:17a; 49:7a, 8a, 25a; 52:3a; 56:1a; 65:8a;

(β) כֹּה אֲמַר אֲדֹנָי י׳, 49:22a;

(γ) כֹּה אֲמַר אֲדֹנָיִךְ י׳, 51:22a;

(δ) כֹּה אֲמַר הָאֵל יהוה, 42:5a;

(ϵ) כִּי כֹה אֲמַר אֲדֹנָי י׳, 45:18a; 52:4a;

(ζ) כִּי כֹה אֲמַר רָם וגו׳, 57:15a;

[57] Addendum: 57:15β.

[58] *Cf.* Remark 2.

[59] β: יֹאמַר מֶלֶךְ יַעֲקֹב ‖ δ: יֹאמַר יהוה.

[60] יֹאמַר יהוה parallel with אמר אֱלֹהֶיךָ in vs. 9b.

[61] Sometimes with the addition of various modifications.

(η) לָכֵן כֹּה אָ֣מַר אֲדֹנָי יְ׳, 65:13*a*;
(θ) וְעַתָּה אָמַר יהוה, 49:5*a*;
(ι) נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יהוה, 56:8*a*.[62]

(*b*) The parenthetical sentences:

A. Verbal (always אמר):

(1) The perfect:

(*a*) אָמַר יהוה, 48:22; 57:19*b*; 59:21 (twice); 65:7*β*; 66:20*a*, 21, 23*b*;
(*β*) אָ֣מַר יְ׳ צבאות, 45:13*ζ*;
(γ) אָמַר אֱלֹהַיִךְ 54:6*δ*; 66:9*b*.[63]
(δ) אָ֣מַר אֱלֹהַי, 57:21;
(ε) אָ֣מַר מְרֻחֲמֵךְ יְ׳, 54:10*ε*.

(2) The imperfect:

(*a*) יֹאמַר אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, 40:1*b*;
(*β*) קָדוֹשׁ יְ׳, 40:25; (ק evidently a proper name; = יִשְׂרָאֵל ק׳?);
(γ) יהוה יְ׳, 41:21*β*;[64] 66:9*a*;[65]
(δ) מֶלֶךְ יַעֲקֹב יְ׳, 41:21*δ*;[64]

B. The nominal נְאֻם יהוה (as a rule, concluding an oracle), 41:14*γ*; 43:10*a*; 43:12*b*; 49:18*b*; 52:5 (twice); 54:17*δ*; 55:8*b*; 59:20*b*; 66:2*β*, 17*b*, 22*a*.

Remark 2.—The use of the imperfect is exceptional. It is variously explained.

(*a*) Praesens historicum (König, § 159*b*; *cf.* Targ., אֵימַר, Pesh. 'emar)[66] is improbable, because even the perfect אָמַר is used usually of oracles, which are present from the speaker's point of view (perf. praesentiae).

(*b*) "The call is not a single, momentary one; it is repeated, or at least continued" (Driver, § 33*a*, O.). This would hardly explain cases (like 40:1*b*, 25*b*; 41:21*β*, *δ*) in which the imperfect occurs at the beginning of new sections; repetition or duration is hardly the important feature here.

(*c*) It seems that the presential moment is emphasized in contrast with something that happened, or used to happen (*cf.* Davidson, § 40*b*).[67]

[62] If the Massoretic division of verses (followed, *e. g.*, by R. V., Dillmann, Duhm, Marti) is correct; Ewald, Kautzsch-Ryssel (following LXX) connect it with vs. 7.

[63] ‖ יֹאמַר יהוה, vs. 9*a*.

[64] Parallel.

[65] ‖ אָמַר אֱלֹהַיִךְ.

[66] But LXX: λέγει Vulg.: dicit.

[67] *Cf.* Duhm on 40:1, "präsentisch, zum Gedichte passend."

XVII. PARENTHETICAL SENTENCES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
Strengthening (or explaining)							
(1) the subject[68]	3	4	1	..	..	..	8
(2) the predicate	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
(3) the object	1	..	..	..	..	..	1

XVIII. FORMULAS INDICATING DIVINE ORACLES.

	A	B	C	D	E	I	Total
I. Introductory:							
1. Verbal, consisting of אמר יהוה, etc.[69]	12	7	2	2	..	..	23
2. נְאֻם ר׳	..	..	1(?)	..	..	..	1
II. Parenthetical: (*a*) verbal, (*b*) nominal—							
a. (1) containing the perfect of אמר[69]	2	2	4	5	..	..	13
(2) containing the imperfect יאמר[69]	4	..	..	1	..	..	5
b. (3) נְאֻם יהוה	3	5	1	3	..	..	12

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

I. Some special points in the syntax and style:

1. The copula in nominal sentences is very rare.

2. The irregular order of words both in nominal and verbal sentences is very common.

3. וְ and a perfect occurs after a perfect, where historical Hebrew uses וְ consecutive with the imperfect.

4. Instead of wāw consecutive with the imperfect, wāw separated is sometimes used with the imperfect.

5. Commands are used to introduce new sections (verbs of hearing and speaking), to add force and color to the discourse, to describe future events in a vivid manner.

6. Rhetorical questions are often used for emphatic positive or negative statements, to express a command or wish, doubt or wonder.

7. The negative particles לֹא and אַיִן sometimes negate a noun (like German "un-"); אֵין, וְאֵין, and בְּאֵין are used like בְּלֹא (= without).

8. The asyndetic relative sentences are used very frequently, even as independent parts of the main sentence.

[68] In all cases God.

[69] With various modifications.

9. The preposition כְּ passes into a comparative conjunction.

10. Purpose is more commonly expressed by simple syndesis (with a final shade of meaning), or by an infinitive construct with preposition, than by final sentences.

II. Some points, which have a bearing on the unity of the book:

1. The pronominal subject with strengthening pronominal or nominal appositions[70] is found often in A and B; rarely in C; never in D, E, and I.

2. הִנֵּה with a participle instead of a finite verb occurs only in C (three times).

3. The proportion of syndesis to asyndesis is ca. 2 : 1 in A, B, E, I; 2½ : 1 in C; 3 : 1 in D.

4. Chiasm is very common in A, B, C, D; wanting in E and I.

5. Restatement of a positive proposition in negative terms (or *vice versa*) does not occur in I; when referring to Yahweh's uniqueness it is found only in A.

6. בַּל with the perfect occurs only in A, with the imperfect once in A, thrice in I. אַפֵּס as a negative is used only in A and B.

7. יַעַן as a causal conjunction occurs only in C and D.

8. Use of simple copulative waw (with the jussive, etc.) with a final shade of meaning is frequent in A, B, I; rare in D; wanting in C and E; but the infinitive construct with לְ is very common in C, D, E, less frequent in A and B.

9. Parenthetical sentences emphasizing the subject (God, as a rule) are used three times in A, four times in B, once in C, twice in E, never in D or I.

10. Formulas marking the discourse as a divine oracle are common in A, B, C, D, wanting in E, I.

CONCLUSION.

Syntax of the sentences can be used as an argument for separating C and D, and probably E and I, from A and B. It cannot be used to divide C and D. It is interesting to note, that the study seems to confirm, from a different point of view, the critical conclusions set forth by recent exegetes, especially by Duhm in his commentary.

[70] Usually divine names.

APPENDIX I.

INFINITIVE CLAUSES.

I. Infinitive construct[71] without a preposition:

(1) It occurs in 40:16*a*; 46:2β; 47:11(β)[72]δ, 12γ; 53:10α; 56:11β, γ; 58:2β, 5β, 6β, γ, δ, 9δ (twice), 13γ; 60:14α.[73]

(2) The subject of the infinitive

A. is expressed by a noun following the infinitive, 58:5γ;

B. is omitted (*a*) when it is the same as the subject of the main sentence, 42:24δ; 46:2β; 47:11(β)[72]δ, 12γ; 53:10α; 56:11β, γ; 58:13γ; 60:14α; 57:20β; 58:2β; (*b*) when indefinite, 40:16*a*; 58:9δ; (*c*) when parallel with the subject of continuing finite verb, 58:6β, γ, δ, 7α.

(3) The object of the infinitive

A. is expressed (*a*) by a noun following the infinitive, 46:2β: 58:2β, 5β, 6α, β, γ, δ, 7α, 9δ, 13γ; (*b*) by a pronominal suffix, 47:11(β)δ; 53:10α;

B. is omitted, 40:16*a*; 56:11β, γ.

(4) The order of words in the infinitive clause corresponds usually to the regular order in the verbal sentences: predicate, subject (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), object (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), etc. The only exception is 42:24δ,[74] where a prepositional expression precedes the infinitive; this is probably due to special emphasis[75] (Dillmann).

(5) The infinitive clause is (*a*) an object after the verbs אבה, 42:24δ; ידע, 47:11β; 56:11β, γ; יכל, 46:2β; 47:11γ, 12γ; 57:20β; חפץ, 53:10α; 58:2β;[76] (*b*) genitive after a construct, 40:16*a*[77] (דֵּי); 58:5β (יוֹם); (*c*) an adverb, "modi," 60:14α;[78] (*d*) an expression of negative consequence 58:13γ (supply מִן from מִשַּׁבָּת); (*e*) subject (resumed after זֶה), 58:6β, γ, δ, 7α.

II. Infinitive construct with prepositions:

(1) (*a*) לְ, 40:20δ, 22δ; 42:7α, β, 18*b*; 43:20ε; 44:10*b*, 13ε, 15α, 19β, 28*b*; 45:1γ, ε, 18ζ; 47:14ε, ζ; 48:9*b*, 17γ; 49:5γ, 6β, γ, *b*, 8ε, ζ, 9α; 50:2δ, 4β (twice), δ; 51:13ε; 52:4β; 54:16*b*; 55:2β, 7δ; 56:1*b* (twice), 3β, 6β, γ (fem.), δ, 9*b*, 10γ, δ; 57:7γ, 15ε, ζ; 58:4β, δ, 5γ, 12δ; 59:7β, 14δ; 60:9γ, 11γ, 13γ, 21δ; 61:1γ, ε, ζ, 2*a*, 3α, β, *b*; 63:1*b*, 12*b*; 64:1γ, 6β; 65:8ζ; 66:15*b*, 18*a*,

[71] Absolute in 42:24δ; 57:20β; 58:7α.

[72] Vs. 11β after emendation.

[73] König, § 117, 1, inf. absolute in shortened form(!); but inf. constr., § 402*d*, *b*.

[74] Addendum: 58:7α, where a dative (emphatic) precedes the direct object.

[75] Aramāism? (Duhm, Marti, *et al.*).

[76] Add.: Hiph. of סִיר, 58:9δ.

[77] Parallel with דֵּי עוֹלָה; *cf.* Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 45*a*. König's designation (400*c*), "Attributiv-satz," is subject to misunderstanding, especially because he applies the same name to relative sentences.

[78] An inf. absolute used in a similar way, 57:17β, הַסְתֵּר, "with a hiding (of my face)" = in anger; continued by וְ imperfect; *cf.* König, § 402*d*.

23*b*; (*b*) מִן, 44:7γ, 18β, γ; 48:4α; 49:15β; 50:2γ;[79] 54:9γ, δ (twice); 56:2γ, δ, 6δ (= 2γ); 58:13ε, ζ (twice);[80] 59:1α, β, 2*b*; (*c*) בְּ, 52:8δ; 53:9β (plur.); 55:6*a*, *b*; 57:13α; 64:2*a*; 47:9ε, ζ;[79] (*d*) תַּחַת, 60:15*a*; (*e*) מִבֵּעַת (composite), 48:16γ.

(2) The subject of the infinitive

A. is expressed (*a*) by a noun, 47:9ε, ζ; 51:10*b*; 52:8*b*; 54:9γ; (*b*) by a pronominal suffix, 44:7γ; 48:16γ;[81] 55:6*a*, *b*; 57:13α; 60:15*a*; 64:2*a*;

B. but most commonly is omitted and is to be supplied from the context. It is identical with (*a*) parts of the main sentence: (*a*) with its subject, 42:7α, β,[82] 18*b*; 43:20ε; 44:19β; 48:9*b*; 49:5γ,[82] 8ε,[82] ζ,[82] 15β; 50:4β[2] (inf. governed by an inf.); 51:14α, 16γ (twice), δ; 52:4β; 54:9δ; 55:7δ; 56:1γ, δ, 2γ,[83] 3β, 6δ (= 2γ), 6β,[83] γ, 9*b*, 10ζ;[83] 57:7γ, 15ε, ζ; 58:2β, 4β, δ, 13ε, ζ; 59:14δ; 60:9γ; 63:1*b*, 12*b*;[83] 64:6β;[83] 65:8ζ; 66:15*b*, 18β, 23*b*; (β) with the object, 40:20δ; 44:13ε; 48:17δ; 56:2δ; 61:1γ, ε, ζ, 3α, β;[84] (γ) with the predicate nominative, 49:6β,[85] γ; 58:12δ; (δ) with a genitive (noun or pron. suffix) connected with the subject, 44:18β, γ; 50:2γ; 53:9β; 59:1α, β, 7β; 60:21δ; 61:3*b*; (ε) with a prepositional suffix, 50:2δ, 4β[1] (לַדַּעַת), δ; (*b*) the subject of the following verb (finite), 60:13γ;[86]

C. is indefinite, 40:22δ; 44:15α;[87] 45:18ζ (= 40:22δ); 47:14ε, ζ (ζ = 40:22δ); 55:2β;[88] 60:11γ; 58:5γ,[87] 9δ.

(3) The object of the infinitive is omitted not only with verbs which are often used without it in finite forms,[89] but also in others, as בְּעֵר, 44:15α (*cf.* 40:16); הַשְׁחִית, 51:13ε; סלה, 55:7δ;[90] הַכּוֹת, 58:4β; שׂוּם, 61:3α; הוֹשִׁיעַ, 63:1*b*.

(4) The order of words in the prepositional infinitive clauses corresponds usually to the regular order in the verbal sentences: predicate (infinitive), subject (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), object (when expressed otherwise than by a pronominal suffix), etc. (43 cases). Exceptions are due (*a*) to varying emphasis, (*b*) to chiasm: (*a*) infinitive, prepositional phrase,[91] object (or pred. nominative), 45:1γ, ε; 58:4δ, 5γ; 60:11γ; 61:1ε, ζ, 3β; 63:12*b*; 66:15γ;[92] (56:6δ); (*b*) object, infinitive, 49:6γ.

[79] A different noun formation used instead of an inf. עָדוּת in 50:2γ (*cf.* 59:1α), עָצְמָה in 47:9ζ.

[80] מִן of the first infinitive (מִמְצוֹא) to be carried over also to the second (דַּבֵּר).

[81] הֵ—; its meaning is not clear, probably a neuter, the things that happened (Dillmann) imited by some especially to the work of Cyrus (Duhm, Marti; parallel with אֵלֶּה in vs. 14).

[82] But see note (1). [83] All after a participle. [84] On 59:2*b* see note (1).

[85] So most probably the Hebrew text, Kautzsch-Ryssel.

[86] *Cf.* note (1). [87] *Cf.* 40:16*a*.

[88] The clause is practically one concept governed by בְּ ([that which is] not [fit] for satisfying = poor food; *cf.* לֹא־לָחֶם).

[89] *E. g.*, שָׁמַע, רָאָה. [90] This verb used absolutely in finite forms sometimes.

[91] In most cases the order was undoubtedly influenced by the close connection with the verb.

[92] Reversed to the regular order in δ by chiasm.

(5) Uses of the infinitive clauses with prepositions.

A. With לְ: (*a*) purpose, 40:20*δ*, 22*δ*; 42:7*a*, *β*,[93] 18*b*; 43:20*ε*; 44:10*b* (negative, לְבִלְתִּי), 13*ε*; 45:1*γ*,[94] *ε*,[94] 18*ζ*; 47:14*ε*, *ζ*; 48:9*b* (negative לְבִלְתִּי); 49:5*γ*,[94] 8*ε*, *ζ*, 9*a*; 50:4*β*[1], *δ*; 51:10*b*, 16*γ* (twice), *δ*; 52:4*β*; 54:16*b*; 55:2*β*; 56:6*β*, *γ*, *δ*, 9*b*; 57:7*γ*, 15*ε*, *ζ*; 58:4*β*, *δ*, 12*δ*; 59:7*β*; 60:9*γ*, 11*γ*, 13*γ*, 21*δ*; 61:1*γ*, *ε*, *ζ*, 2*a*, 3*a*, *β*, *b*; 63:12*b*; 64:1*γ*, 6*β*; 65:8*ζ* (neg. לְבִלְתִּי); 66:15*b*, 18*β*, 23*b*; (*b*) consequence, 44:19*β*; 50:2*δ*;[95] (*c*) explicativum, 44:28*β*;[96] 56:3*β*. לֵאמֹר is remarkably rare, after a verb of speaking introducing a direct discourse only in 56:3*β*; (*d*) specification (?), modifying an adjective,[97] 56:1*b* (twice); 63:1*b*; (*e*) indirect object,[98] 51:14*a*; 58:5*γ*; (*f*) direct object, 50:4*β*[2] (after לָדַעַת); 51:13*ε* (after כּוֹנְנָן); 55:7*δ* (after יִרְבֶּה); 55:10*γ* (after יוֹלֶדֶת), *ζ* (after partic. constr.[!] אֹהֲבֵי);[99] (*g*) predicate accusative, 48:17*δ*(?);[100] (*h*) predicate nominative, 44:15*a*(?);[100] (*i*) subject, 49:6*β*, *γ*.

B. With בְּ: (*a*) temporal, 52:8*b*; 53:9*β*; 55:6*a*, *β*; 57:13*a*; 64:2*a*;[101] (*b*) concessive, 47:9*ε*, *ζ*.

C. With בֵּין: (*a*) temporal, 44:7*γ*; 48:16*γ* (בֵּינָתִי); (*b*) negative consequence,[102] 49:15*β*; 44:18*β*, *γ*; 50:2*γ*; 56:2*γ*, *δ*, 6*δ* (= 2*γ*); 58:13*ε*, *ζ*; 59:1*a*, *β*, 2*b*; (*c*) negative object clause, 54:9 (thrice);[103] (*d*) causal, 48:4*a*.

D. With תַּחַת the infinitive clause is practically a substantive, 60:15*a* ‖ גְּאוֹן ע׳ and מְשׂוֹשׂ ה׳ (exchange).[104]

NOTES.

1. Owing to the nominal character of the infinitives, the need of expressing a subject or object was not so much felt as in the common verbal sentence. Even the context, our best guide, fails to help us in several cases to discover the unexpressed subject of an infinitive clause. Attempts have been made to reason it out by general considerations (circumstances, theology, etc.), with varying success; some cases remain very doubtful, as 42:7*a*, *β*, where we have three views:

(*a*) The subject is the עֶבֶד ׳י because of 49:5 *sq.* (Dillmann).

(*b*) The subject is Yahweh himself, as in 49:6, (*a*) because in 2 Isaiah Yahweh himself is the chief actor, using men only occasionally as his instruments, like Cyrus (Duhm); (*β*) to take Israel (עבד ׳י) as subject makes an ill-balanced sentence ("einen schleppenden Satz;" Marti; rather forced and fanciful).

[93] See note (2) *ad loc.*

[94] Continued by ך separ. and imperfect.

[95] *Cf.* Kōnig, § 406*b*.

[96] *Cf.* note (5) *ad loc.*

[97] Similar to the Latin *supine*; *cf.* Allen and Greenough, *Latin Grammar*, § 303.

[98] Kōnig, § 399*b*.

[99] Addendum, 59:14*δ* (after ירכל).

[100] Or is it final?

[101] Probably with a causal shade of meaning.

[102] *Cf.* Brown's Lexicon, p. 583 under 7*b*; Kōnig, § 406*a*.

[103] *Cf.* Kōnig, § 406*c*.

[104] Grouped by Kōnig (§ 403) among causal-infinitives; but the emphasis is on the contrast between the present desolation and the future glory, which Yahweh will bring about in its place (vs. 15*b*; *cf.* vs. 17; 61:3; Duhm, *ad loc.*; Kautzsch-Ryssel; Dillmann).

(*c*) It is admitted that grammatically both constructions are possible (*cf.* Dillmann and Marti, *ad loc.*); on general grounds, Duhm's opinion seems to be the stronger one.

58 : 5γ : The subject is possibly indefinite; but the suffix רֹאשׁוֹ (and the third person sing. masc. in the continuing finite verb) favors אָדָם of the preceding clause.

59 : 2*b* : Though the connection between "face" and "hearing" is somewhat awkward, the subject of מִשְׁמוֹעַ is evidently implied in פָּנִים (used for the face of God, God in his relation to man; *cf.* Duhm, Marti, *et al.*).

In 60 : 13*b* the trees enumerated in 13*a* might be taken as subjects of לְפָאֵר; two things are against it: (α) first person is used in 13δ; (β) the usual subject of פאר, whether used in Piel or Hithp., in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, is Yahweh (55 : 5; 60 : 7; *cf.* 60 : 21; 61 : 3, etc.).

2. It is very hard to draw a line always between the different uses of the infinitive clause governed by לְ. From the primary meaning of the preposition[105] many different uses have developed, indicating, in general, the goal or aim of a certain action, then even introducing an object-clause (*cf.* לְ with a nominal object), or a subject-clause (due to analogy ?).

In 42 : 7α, β the infinitives have been regarded as gerundiva (explicative: opening the eyes, etc.) by Duhm and Marti; as final infinitives by Dillmann, Kautzsch-Ryssel, *et al.* The latter seems more plausible and fits easier into the context (vs. 7 giving the purpose of the divine call of the servant of vs. 6).

56 : 1*b* : The two infinitives have been classed by König with the object-clauses (§ 399*w*), but קְרוֹבָה is an adjective. The primary meaning of לְ[105] plays its part here in the selection of the preposition: "near to"(ward).[106]

3. The infinitive clause in 64 : 2*a* connects very poorly with vs. 2*b* (MT., R. V., "When thou didst terrible things . . . . thou camest down"), better with vs. 1*b*, ". . . . nations may tremble, when [because] thou doest terrible things. . . . ." Vs. 2*b* is most probably a gloss, which came from 63 : 19*b* (Dillmann, Duhm, Kautzsch-Ryssel, *et al.*).

4. 52 : 14γ, δ, מִן with nouns representing shortened infinitive-clauses, *e. g.*, מֵהֱיוֹת אִישׁ.[107]

5. In 44 : 28*b* וְלֵאמֹר continuing a finite verb is rather unusual; וְ may be epexegetical (= German "und zwar;" *cf.* Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 114 p.), but it seems best with Kautzsch-Ryssel to strike it out (after Oort); Dillmann would emend it to וַיֹּאמֶר, or to הָאֹמֵר; (so also Marti); Duhm strikes out 44 : 28*b* as a gloss (variant to 26*b*).

6. Addendum: כְּ + infinitive, 64 : 1α. Subject noun, object noun; order regular; comparison, continued by an asyndetic verbal sentence (imperfect iterative).

105 Indicating direction (mostly ideal); see Davidson, § 101 Rb; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 114 *sq.*

106 Likewise after verbs of coming, going, etc.

107 *Cf.* König, § 406*n*.

APPENDIX II.

USE OF THE PARTICIPLES IN ISAIAH, CHAPS. 40–66.

The participle presents some difficulties of treatment on account of its double nature (verbal + nominal). There are some participles frequently used in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, which are used as common nouns (*e. g.*, גֹּאֵל, יֹצֵר, etc.), and need not be considered here. Even if we exclude those, the use of participles may be called large.

I. WITH THE ARTICLE.

The determined participle is used

(*a*) as subject, 40 : 26*a*[108] (?); 42 : 17 (twice); 45 : 20*b*[1], 47 : 13*b*; 46 : 6*a*; 57 : 13*b*; 59 : 5*b*; 63 : 11*b* (twice); 65 : 16*a*, *b* (passive), 20*b*; 66 : 17*a* (twice); 59 : 5*δ* (passive);

(*b*) as predicate, 44 : 26*b*, 27*a*, 28*a*; 45 : 3*b*, 51 : 9*b*, 10 (twice); 52 : 6*b*;

(*c*) as attribute,[109] 43 : 16*a*, 17*a*; 47 : 8*a*;

(*d*) in apposition to a noun,[109] 46 : 3*b*; 48 : 1*a* (?); 57 : 5*a* (passive); 65 : 2*b*, 3*a*, 4 *sq.* (three times);

(*e*) as a vocative, 62 : 6*b*; 65 : 11 (three times);

(*f*) as a genitive after a noun in the construct state, 43 : 7*a* (passive); 45 : 24*b* (passive); 66 : 10*b*;

(*g*) more or less independently, 40 : 22*a*, *b*, 23*a*; 51 : 20*b*.

II. WITHOUT THE ARTICLE.

The undetermined participle occurs in Isaiah, chaps. 40–66,

(*a*) as subject,[110] (*a*) 41 : 4*β*, 7*a*; 43 : 15*b*; 45 : 20*b*; 46 : 1*b*[111] (passive); 49 : 10*b*, 17*b*; 51 : 11*a*, 19*b*; 54 : 5*a*; 57 : 15 (2); 59 : 15*β*; 61 : 6*β*; 62 : 9*a*, *b*; (*β*) in negative sentence with אֵין, 41 : 26*b* (3); 43 : 11*b*, 13*β*; 47 : 15*b*; 51 : 18*a*, *b*; [ad. (*a*) 47 : 13*b*, Q] (*a*) 54 : 10*b*; 50 : 8*a*; 63 : 12 *sq.* (3); 66 : 3*a* (4); (*β*) 59 : 4*a*, *β*, 16*β*; 63 : 5*a*, *β*; 64 : 6*a*, *β*;

(*b*) as predicate, 40 : 10*β*; 41 : 13*a*, 17*a*; 42 : 9*b*; 43 : 3*β*, 19*a*, 25*b*; 45 : 7 (5); 44 : 24*b* (3), 26*a*; 46 : 1*a*, 1*b* (passive); 45 : 19*b* (2); 48 : 13*b*, 17*b* (2); 49 : 10, 26*b* (2); 50 : 10*a*[2]; 51 : 10*b*, 12*a*, 15*a*, 19*a*; 52 : 5*b* (passive), 12 (2); 54 : 10*a*, 11*a*; 53 : 3*a* (2, passive), 5*a* (2, passive), 7*a*? (passive); 56 : 4*b*; 57 : 1*β*; 60 : 16*b*; 61 : 8*a*, *β*; 64 : 7*b*; 65 : 24*b*; 66 : 3 (3), 12*a*, 22*a*[2], 22*a*[1];[112]

(*c*) as attribute, 40 : 28*β*; 40 : 29*a*; 42 : 5 (4); 43 : 1*a*; 44 : 24*β*; 45 : 15*a*, *b*, 21*η*, 18 (3); 48 : 12 (passive); 51 : 13 (3), 20*a* (passive); 54 : 16*β*, *γ*; 56 : 2*b* (2), 3*β*,[113] 6*a*, 8*a*, 10*b* (3[?]); 49 : 5*a*; 65 : 2*a*; 66 : 5, 12*β*, 19*a*;

[108] Defective answer to a question(?).

[109] Sometimes impossible to distinguish.

[110] Addendum : 66 : 17*a*.

[111] Text uncertain.

[112] 65 : 17*a*, 18*a*, *b*; 66 : 6*b*(?).

[113] With a slight emendation, הַנִּלְוָה.

(*d*) in apposition to a noun,[114] 46 : 10α, *b*, 11α ; 57 : 3*b*, 5*b* ; 65 : 3*b* (2) ;
(*e*) as a vocative, 51 : 1α, 7α ; 51 : 21*b* ; 52 : 11*b* ; 65 : 11α ;
(*f*) as a genitive after a noun in construct state, 40 : 3α,[115] 6α ;[115] 52 : 7 ; 60 : 14α, β ; 56 : 6β[1] ; 59 : 8γ ; 61 : 9*b* ; 66 : 10*a* ;
(*g*) as object : 41 : 7*a* ; 44 : 20α ;[116] 56 : 6*b*[2] ;[116] 64 : 4 (2) ; 65 : 9*a* ; 49 : 26α ;
(*h*) as predicate nominative, 47 : 13γ ; 59 : 2α,[117] 15α,[117] β ;[117] 63 : 8*b* ;
(*i*) predicate accusative, 53 : 4*b* (3, passive) ;
(*k*) with preposition, 63 : 2*b* (בְּ) ;
(*l*) after הִנֵּה, 45 : 9*a*, 10α ;
(*m*) independent, 41 : 7*b*(?).

[114] Sometimes hardly distinguishable from the attribute.

[115] After קוֹל (exclamat.).

[116] *Casus pendens* resumed by a pronominal suffix of the verb.

[117] With הָיָה = finite verb.

VITA.

I, Alois Bárta, was born in Čáslav, in eastern Bohemia, on the 28th day of July, 1874. After attending for five years the parochial school of the Reformed Church, I studied in the gymnasium of Čáslav, Německý Brod, and Kolin, and received a certificate of maturity for university study with honors in Kolin on June 20, 1892. I took then the regular course in the Union Theological Seminary, of New York, and graduated therefrom on May 14, 1895. After a year's pastorate in Weston, Nebraska, I entered the University of Chicago in the fall of 1896 and spent therein eleven and a half quarters, pursuing my studies in the departments of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis and of Semitic Languages and Literatures.

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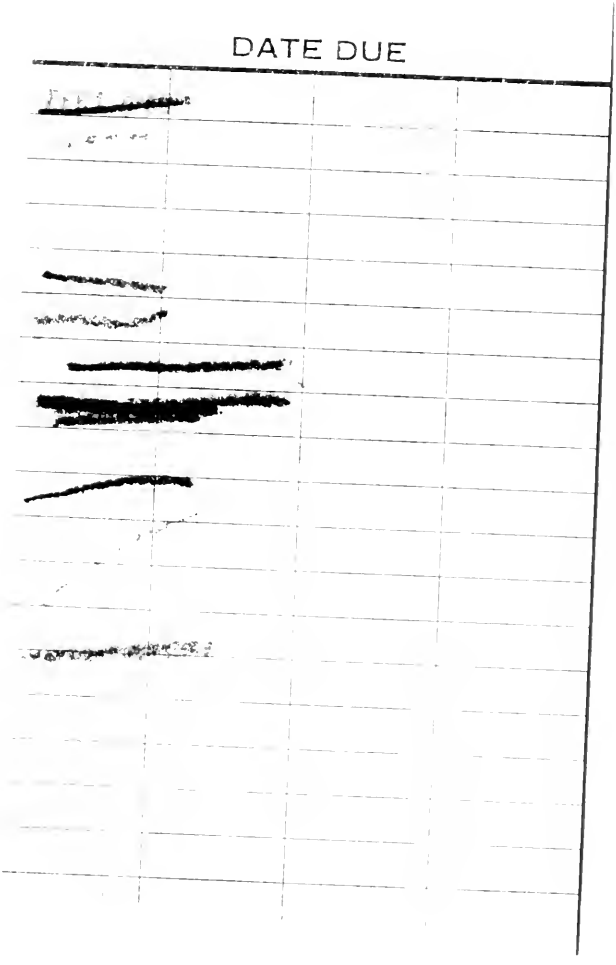
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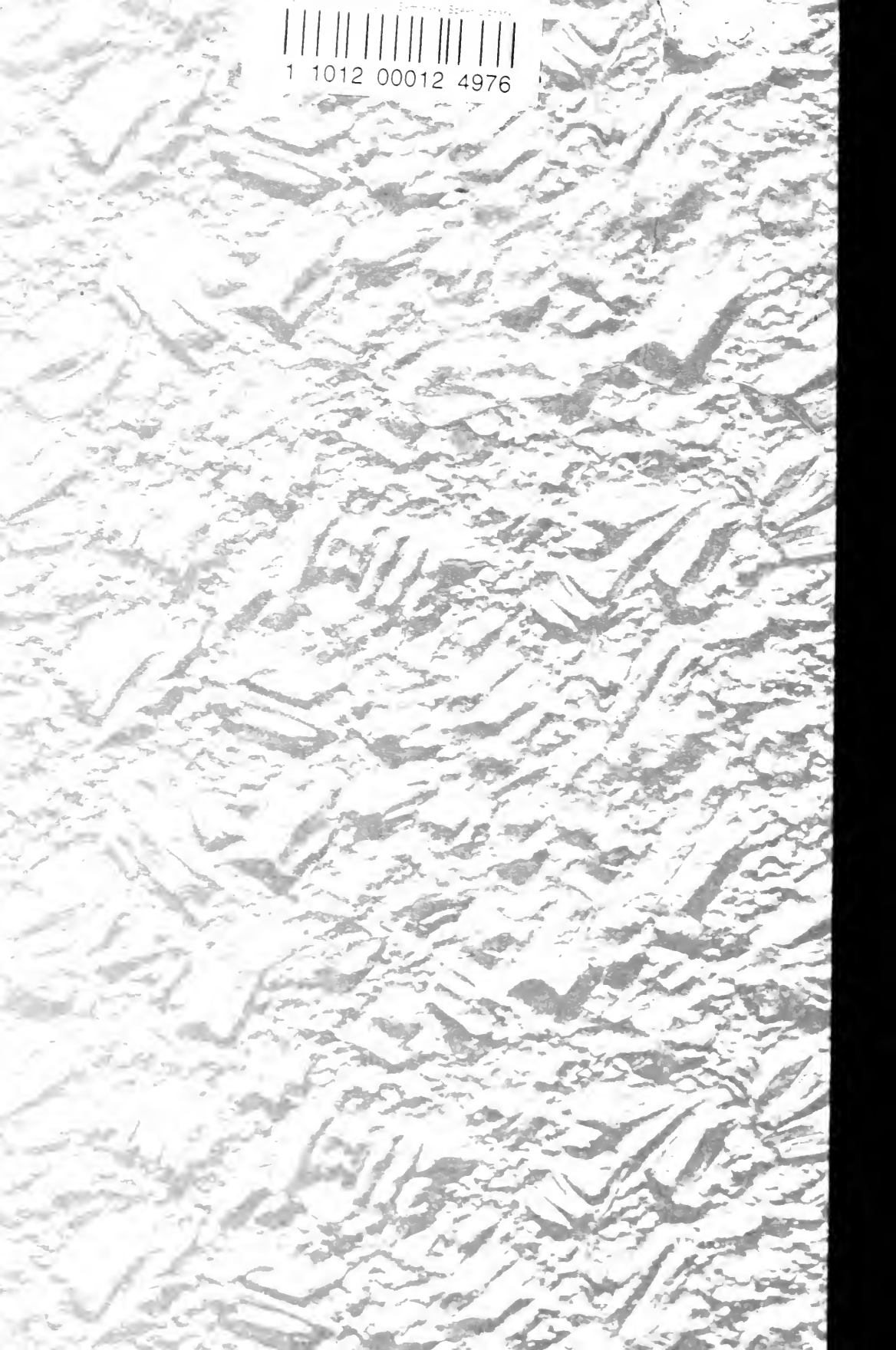
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